THE Nation

July 23, 1955
20c

Is YOUR Job in Peril?

The Electronic Clerk

by Bernard Nossiter

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Grass-Roots Racism *Alfred Maund*

New Crisis in Kenya *Keith Irvine*

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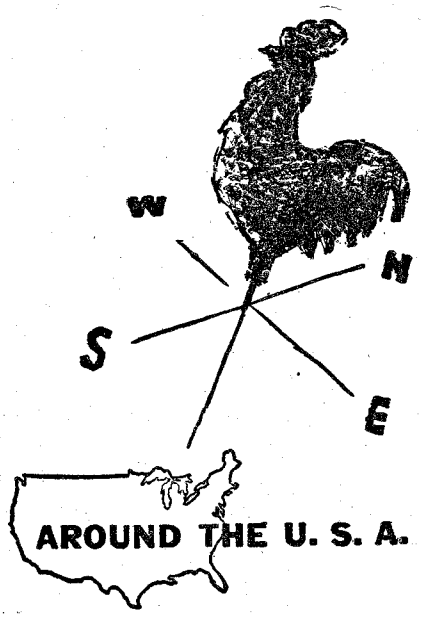

"Happy" Chandler and the Dixiecrats

Louisville, Kentucky

KENTUCKY'S Democratic primary election affords the people an interesting spectacle this summer. Here, in an ostensibly Southern state, is a candidate for governor—"Happy" Chandler—shying like a hog in a slaughter-chute from the Dixiecrat label his opposition has thrown at him. He reacts to the word as if it were an epithet and he replies to it with proclamations of his loyalty to the One Party that still runs the South.

Yet, if Chandler enters the governor's mansion this winter there is not an iota of doubt that he will immediately set out to rid the Senate of its substitute majority leader, Earle C. Clements, a party man above all. Clements will stand for reelection next year.

Indeed, Chandler insists that his principal motive in returning to politics after a ten-year absence is to "free" Kentuckians from the yoke of Clements and the present governor, Lawrence Wetherby. They are both backing Chandler's opponent, Bert T. Combs, a brilliant young lawyer from the East Kentucky mountains and a relative newcomer to politics. Chandler refers to Clements and Wetherby as "little Hitlers, prototypes of those dictators across the sea." What he means is that they are in and he is out.

It is quite obvious that the "Dixiecrat" cry is offensive to the Chandler ear this summer. There is something to the charge; how much, let the reader judge.

Chandler owns a country newspaper, the Woodford *Sun,* which bolted the Democratic ticket in 1948 in favor of the Dixiecrats. The paid editor of the *Sun,* Orval W. Baylor, was state chairman for the Dixiecrats in Kentucky. Chandler's wife was one of the 1,000 signers of a petition that put the States' Rights candidates on the ballot in Kentucky. J. Strom Thurmond opened his Kentucky campaign with a speech at Madisonville and got in an airplane after the speech and flew to the Chandler home at Versailles to spend the night.

"Happy's" own hand was never above the table in all this because as Baseball Commissioner, at $65,000 a year, he was duty bound to stay clear of politics. Nevertheless, Dewey Fleming of the Baltimore *Sun* visited Kentucky a few days after Thurmond's appearance and wrote: "It is not altogether accidental that many Kentuckians are calling Happy the 'spiritual leader' of the Dixiecrats hereabouts. . . ." Surely, Chandler was never spiritually antagonistic to the Thurmonds and Wrights. While in the Senate he voted against the anti-lynching bill in 1940, and against bills to repeal the poll tax in 1942 and 1943. He must hope that this record is atoned for or forgiven or better still, forgotten, because he is obviously convinced that he could not stand on it and win. After all, the Dixiecrats barely polled 10,000 votes in this state in 1948.

THE reverse Dixiecrat twist to the Chandler-Combs election is but one of the curious aspects of the affair. Equally curious is the support Chandler has drawn from labor. The A. F. of L. leadership in the state is working desperately to elect him. C. I. O.-PAC has endorsed Combs but some of their local leaders have defected, notably among the auto and steel workers.

This is particularly singular in the light of Chandler's labor record. As governor of Kentucky in 1939, he sent 1,000 National Guardsmen to "restore order" in the coal fields of East Kentucky where the U. M. W. was striking to win a union shop. Said Chandler: "No one, and that includes John L. Lewis, can compel a Kentucky worker to join his union and pay dues to it in order to work." Every labor organization in the state, including the A. F. of L., condemned Chandler as a strike-breaker.

As a Senator, Chandler's record on ten major bills affecting labor was nine wrong votes, according to C. I. O.-PAC. Among them was his vote for the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill in 1943 and his vote to override President Roosevelt's veto of that measure. But now he has promised the A. F. of L. that he will oppose any "right-to-work" legislation that may come up in the legislature next year. Of course, in 1939, during the coal-miner's strike, he had said that his use of troops was "to protect the right to work of the citizens of this state." In other words, to protect them from a union shop.

Governor Wetherby, whom the A. F. of L. has turned on this year, saw to it that a "right-to-work" bill was killed in the Kentucky legislature last year. And Clements, by the A. F. of L.'s own reckoning, has voted "right" by labor ten out of eleven times during his tenure in the Senate.

AT THIS stage of the campaign it is well nigh impossible to say who is ahead, Chandler or Combs. Combs has none of "Happy's" showmanship or gift for fanning the flames of petty discontent. He is a quiet, almost shy man. But he has solid opinions and he expresses them plainly. Much of his political labor consists of walking up and down the streets of the country towns, shaking hands and getting himself known. It seems no longer to be a compliment a call a man "sincere," but that is Combs's big asset, next to the very substantial influence of the Clements-Wetherby organization.

So far as Combs is concerned, the issue between him and Chandler is liberalism versus a moribund conservatism. Combs has put himself on the record, as Chandler has not, as to the rightness of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. His liberal approach to economic and social questions is evidenced by a number of decisions while sitting as a judge on the Court of Appeals. Chandler's record is part of history, too.

The votes will be cast on August 6.

RICHARD HARWOOD.

[*Richard Harwood is on the staff of the Louisville* Times.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 4

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Nation and Mr. Brownell's "Justice"

IN THE wretched history of the Department of Justice under the direction of Herbert Brownell there is no more discreditable or revealing chapter than the indictment of R. Lawrence Siegel, his associate Hadassah Shapiro, the separate indictment of Martin Solow, and the attempt to link *The Nation* to these indictments through a process of tricky legal legerdemain. The indictments confirm a consistent impression of the department's behavior and strategy in this and similar cases, namely, that the country's chief law-enforcement agency is today dominated by the morbid fear that its incompetence will at long last be exposed to public scrutiny. No action of the department more eloquently attests to the dominance of this fear, and of the unfair tactics it induces, than these indictments.

R. Lawrence Siegel, Hadassah Shapiro, and Martin Solow are known to us as persons of high moral integrity whose devotion to the principles of Amercan democracy is unquestioned. Mr. Siegel is a former assistant attorney general of the state of New York and a former New York state special assistant attorney. He has had a distinguished career at the New York Bar for the last twenty years. His reputation for loyalty to America, honesty, integrity, and idealism is exceptionally high. He has participated in many important civil-liberties cases and has long been active in the American Civil Liberties Union, bar association and community affairs, besides serving as counsel for *The Nation.* Hadassah Shapiro is an attorney in his office. Neither Mr. Siegel nor Miss Shapiro make policy for *The Nation,* nor are they in any manner responsible for what it prints. Mr. Siegel and Miss Shapiro have been indicted under a series of counts charging them with obstructing justice, conspiracy to obstruct justice, and perjury in connection with the government's investigation of Harvey Matusow. The case nas now passed from the grand jury to the courts and is, therefore, *sub judice.* For this reason we cannot discuss in detail the facts but we feel entirely justified in making certain general comments. For the benefit of those of our readers who may have been confused by the artful press briefing—in typical Department of Justice style—which accompanied the announcement of the indictments we should like to point out that Mr. Siegel, as a highly successful New York counsel, has many clients other than *The Nation.* (He was described to the press only as "general counsel for *The Nation.*") The indictments do not charge that the alleged acts on which they are based had anything to do with Mr. Siegel's representation of *The Nation.* We have every confidence that Mr. Siegel and Miss Shapiro will be vindicated. Without commenting on the facts in detail, we venture the general statement that nothing that either of them did obstructed the investigation of the Matusow case in the slightest degree.

NO MORE than Mr. Siegel or Miss Shapiro does Martin Solow make policy for *The Nation.* Mr. Solow is assistant to the publisher of this journal, which means, in our jargon, that he is in charge of circulation promotion and performs various other business functions. Mr. Solow's indictment is entirely tactical and we are certain that he, too, will be vindicated. He is charged with "obstructing the administration of justice" because he destroyed four items of correspondence which he had conducted in his individual capacity and in no way in behalf of *The Nation.* How much his action was an "obstruction" can be discerned from the fact that the grand jury's knowledge of his action comes apparently from his testimony given to the grand jury freely and voluntarily, without the compulsion of a subpoena. The substance of the offense laid to Mr. Solow, it seems, is that some time before he knew, or could have known, of the grand jury's inquiries into Matusow's affairs, Mr. Solow had taken from his individual files several items of correspondence to or from persons other than Matusow. This action by Mr. Solow, incidentally, had nothing whatever to do with the actions charged to Mr. Siegel or Miss Shapiro, nor had it the slightest tendency to "obstruct" the investigation of Matusow's testimony. When he was before the grand jury, Mr. Solow advised that body of his action and then informed it as to contents of the correspondence in question. Mr. Solow's conduct amounts to an "obstruction to the administration of justice" only to a Department of Justice or a grand jury intent on conjuring up a bete noire to replace the image of the government's irresponsible use of professional informers. The necessity, as measured by the Department of Justice, for the indictment of Mr. Solow is quite clear: neither the department nor Mr. Brownell has ever forgiven *The Nation* for the first major expose of the informer system (see the issue of April 10, 1954). If the minutes of the grand jury which has been handling the Matusow matter are ever made public, the questioning about this article will shock our readers who are as devoted as we are to the guarantee of a free press embodied in the First Amendment. It is not by chance that, coinci-

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dent with the return of these indictments, a Congressional committee should be conducting a full-scale investigation of "communism among newspapermen," with the principal targets being drawn from the staff of the New York *Times* which has been critical, in the past, of aspects of the informer system.

The indictments of Mr. Siegel, Miss Shapiro, and the indictment of Mr. Solow is merely another brick in an edifice that the Department of Justice is artfully constructing: (a) To defend against subsequent reversal or other legal modification the various convictions it has obtained in the courts, as well as the findings and orders of administrative agencies, against political dissenters based on the use of professional witnesses and political informers of highly dubious character and veracity. The department has an enormous vested interest in maintaining these convictions and findings. (b) To safeguard the system of political informers which has been built up in recent years and which now shows every sign of early distintegration. And (c) to terrorize and silence any organ of opinion that has criticized the use of political informers or that has called for an investigation of their veracity as witnesses. These are serious charges, but the facts amply substantiate them.

THE Department of Justice had, of course, good reason to fear the consequences of Harvey Matusow's recantation. Not only did it set a dangerous example but it exposed the department's incompetence in screening political informers and its reckless use of their testimony. As early as January, 1952, the United States Attorney's office in New York received a report indicating that Matusow was suffering from "a mild but acute form of psychoneurosis." Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins told a Congressional committee that the report had been "found in the files." Yet the Department of Justice and other government agencies continued to use Matusow as their witness. On February 11, 1955, some time *after* Lowell Watson, still another professional witness, had confessed that he had given false testimony in the Edward Lamb case before the Federal Communications Commission, the department ordered the deportation of Doris and Alan Shifrin against whom Watson had been one of only two direct witnesses.

Some of Matusow's tall tales under oath should have aroused the skepticism of a country bumpkin, but the alert lawyers of the Department of Justice pretended to see nothing preposterous about them. Even Matusow's statement that he knew by sight "probably 10,000 party members in New York" at a time when the F. B. I. officially listed only 11,695 in the whole state was accepted at face value. Nor was the department curious when Matusow charged that "the Sunday section of the New York *Times* alone has 126 dues-paying Communists," despite the fact that the Sunday staff numbered only eighty-seven, including two part-time copy boys. Impressed by the department's sponsorship

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of Matusow, wide-eyed Texas Rangers listened as he solemnly instructed them that undercover Communists sometimes betrayed themselves by humming or whistling "subversive music," and even paid him $25 a day to record the tunes. Reading Matusow's account of these and other antics, the nation began to laugh, and when a nation laughs even case-hardened political opportunists like Mr. Brownell become alarmed.

The department, moreover, was in a difficult position over the use of professional witnesses quite apart from the embarrassment which the irrepressible Harvey had caused by his confession. A long list of these witnesses, including Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, Elizabeth Bentley, George Hewitt, David Brown, Louis Budenz and others had given testimony which had been contradicted under oath in circumstances clearly calling for an investigation of their credibility. But the department failed to act. Back in January, 1953, Mr. Brownell had told the Alsops that an investigation was being made of the testimony of Paul Crouch. Perhaps it was halted, as Anthony Leviero wrote in the New York *Times,* because "Congressional committee staff members in the anti-Communist field have been expressing dismay since Mr. Brownell announced he would investigate Crouch." After all, as one official said, Mr. Crouch had compiled a "blood bank" of paid informers used by the government. Thad Mason, another informer, had given testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 that had brought widespread demand for Justice Department action. According to an official memorandum, Mason had admitted to the F. B. I. that parts of his testimony had been fabricated. Again no action was taken. "One factor in the decision [not to act against Mason]," reported Murrey Marder in the Washington *Post,* "was that the government might have to disclose statements to the F. B. I. by confidential witnesses, including other and more important matters than their references to Mason." On April 20, 1955, William Henry Taylor, an employee of the International Monetary Fund, accused by Elizabeth Bentley of having been a member of a Communist spy ring, filed a 107-page report with the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board pointing out, in elaborate detail, glaring discrepancies in her testimony and demanding an opportunity to cross-examine her before the board. "Why a Privileged Sanctuary for Miss Bentley?" the Madison *Capital-Times* of May 7, 1955, wanted to know. The witnesses Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson both had recanted their testimony before the F. C. C. against Edward Lamb. Later another informer, David Brown, tearfully recanted his testimony. For the first time since Mr. Brownell took over the department a general clamor began to go up against the use of professional witnesses in political cases. The *Democratic Digest* (November, 1954) denounced Mr. Brownell's "Hired Witnesses" who "Tell Strange Tales for Pay." and other periodicals, along with such columnists as Doris Fleeson, Marquis Childs, Thomas L. Stokes, the Alsops and others, began to attack the informer racket which *The Nation* had been one of the first American publications to expose. In an editorial of February 22, 1955, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* issued a sharp editorial challenge: "Whose side is Attorney General Herbert Brownell on anyway? Is he on the side of law and decency? Or is he not?"

MR. BROWNELL is an old hand at wiggling out of tight political corners. On March 21, this year, in a speech in Boston, he announced the discovery of a new, startling "Communist plot" to smear government witnesses—meaning professional informers—and said that an attempt to get Matusow to recant was the spearhead of the attack. The charge was repeated and elaborated by Brownell in a long interview in *U. S. News and World Report* on April 29. The "discovery" that Communists dislike government informers can hardly be rated as first-class confidential top-level intelligence, but the theory of a Communist plot falls to pieces for the reason cited by Judge Edward J. Dimock in his decision granting a new trial to two of the thirteen second-string Communist leaders on the basis of Matusow's recantation. "The fact is," Judge Dimock observed, "that it was the news of a statement by Matusow that he had given false testimony that led these persons sympathetic to the defendants to seek his aid." In other words, the attempt to use Matusow as an *anti*-government witness followed, rather than produced, his recantation.

None of these considerations, however, deterred Mr. Brownell. A man-in-a-hurry, he did not wait until obliging underlings had confirmed the existence of the "plot" he had invented; he proceeded to have Matusow hailed before Judge R. A. Thomason in the federal district court in El Paso. There Matusow was summarily sentenced to three years' imprisonment for criminal contempt, a sentence harsh enough to serve as a warning to other professional witnesses who might be thinking of repudiating earlier testimony. But no effort was made then or later to find out when Matusow had lied or when he had told the truth. Not every statement in his confession is subject to verification; but such a fabled "fact-finding" agency as the F. B. I. should be able to verify, for instance, whether Matusow had in fact been paid by Republican organizations to smear Democratic candidates in Montana, Washington, Utah, and Wisconsin. Certainly Judge Dimock had no difficulty in determining when Matusow had lied. "The internal evidence," he said, "all points to the original story as the lie." If the Judge were off the bench and made that statement he would promptly be subpoenaed before the federal grand jury investigating the Matusow case in New York.

The grand jury was put to work by Mr. Brownell on February 8, 1955, to dig up the evidence to confirm his theory of a "plot." Grand juries have often been used as dragnets, but this one, under the prompting of Mr. Brownell's assistants up from Washington, has set a

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new record. As far as we can see, most of the individuals to whom Matusow attempted to peddle his book or tell his story—and he made the rounds—have been hailed before this body for questioning. According to Murray Kempton, writing in the New York *Post* on April 29, even the ten printers and production men who handled the mechanics of publishing Matusow's books were called to testify.

> What brings suspicion on them [said Mr. Kempton] has to be their sin in distributing material which shames the Department of Justice. The most shameful thing in the product they turned out is its sheaf of letters from F. B. I. and Department of Justice officials attesting their faith in the pre-improved Harvey Matusow. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney wrote one of those letters; no one, of course, has suggested calling him to explain how he came to bring the Government of the United States into disrepute.
>
> These printers are no braver than the average citizen. . . . [They] are private enterprisers; they have many clients and a businessman's natural reluctance to involve the firm in scandal.
>
> And, after being called before the grand jury for processing the Matusow book, even at a nice profit, just how fast will they rush into a contract to do the next book which happens to afflict Herbert Brownell's self-esteem? . . . Herbert Brownell's assistants push on past the frontiers of decency, because to stop short of the limit might give us all the time to see the point. The destruction of Matusow has to be the main focus of their passion.

After five months of endless harassment of witnesses and listening to mountains of gossip, scuttlebutt, and irrelevancies, the grand jury has finally come forth with four indictments. Of the indictment against Matusow little need be said; the Department of Justice is determined to shore up and preserve the informer system which has been showing signs of disintegration and to protect its counsel who helped create this system. The public seems to have forgotten the Val Lorwin case where the Department of Justice had to ask that the indictment be quashed because one of its attorneys had twice deceived a grand jury. In justification of this indictment Mr. Brownell explained that the attorney had "felt it was better to indict Mr. Lorwin on slight evidence rather than appear before a Senate Committee to explain why he had not obtained an indictment." The attorney subsequently was dismissed from his post. There is no evidence, however, that the department is generating, in the New York *Times*' prayerful hope, "a truly enthusiastic determination to take severe action against any attorneys or other officials who may have let their eagerness to win a case overrule their devotion to justice and their sworn duty to pursue it." On the contrary Mr. Brownell proposes to control his stable of unstable informers by changing the requirements for a successful perjury prosecution. His spokesmen have asked Congress for legislation abrogating the requirement that, when an indictment is based upon contradictory sworn statements, the government must prove in which instance the witness lied. With this device at hand, the elimination of what Mr. Brownell calls "a ridiculous requirement" would seal the lips of the false informer and offer a premium to those who had once lied to keep silent.

The Nation is fully aware of the fact that one of the purposes of the indictments against Mr. Siegel, Miss Shapiro, and Mr. Solow is to punish, and if possible silence, this publication for the political sin—and it is that in Mr. Brownell's book—of having repeatedly, consistently, and from the outset, denounced the unjust and incompetent administration of the Department of Justice under his direction. We have no intention now or later of permitting a crude tactic of this kind, more in keeping with the practices of a totalitarian regime than of a democracy, to divert us from focusing attention on the informer system and pointing to the threat to civil liberties and civic decency implicit in the use of paid witnesses to impose a system of political surveillance on a sizable section of the population. *The Nation* has been aroused for a long time, much longer than Mr. Brownell, and we have no intention, in celebrating this year our ninetieth anniversary, of surrendering our independence under pressure of his vindictive bullying.

The Shape of Things

The Spread Widens

On July 5 the farm-price index as computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (based on the 1947-49 average as 100) stood at 89.8, the price index of all commodities other than farm and food products at 115.7. The price spread between farm and factory products has been widening since 1951. In March of that year the two indexes were within a fraction of a point of each other but by the start of 1953 the spread had increased to 17 points and is now close to 25.

What this spread means in human terms is illustrated by a recent study made by the Grain Terminal Association of 221 diversified farms in a western Minnesota county. Figures from this study showed average net income per farm for 1954 of $1,739 on an average capital investment of $37,905. This is less than 5 per cent. The farmers included in the study had an average of seven days off during the year, enjoyed an average vacation of three days, and worked an average of 5,576 hours annually. During the period covered, costs of fertilizer went up 80 per cent, gas and oil 15 per cent; taxes, interest, and utility charges also showed sharp increases. The spread between farm and factory prices, which is now at its greatest since World War II, should be of major concern to the Administration. But there is every reason to believe that President Eisenhower's agricultural advisors are actually pleased with it.

The Magnificent Decline

The relative decline of American agriculture as a factor in the national economy is indeed so sharp that it is being billed as a magnificent forward advance—a

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semantic device for turning bad news into glad tidings. The June issue of *Fortune,* for example, carried an article entitled The Magnificent Decline of U. S. Farming. Its main point is that farm efficiency in the last ten years has risen faster than the efficiency of the rest of the economy. Indeed, in the last fifteen years output per man-hour has risen faster on the farm than in any long-established industry—and three times as fast as in industry generally. Total investment in farm machinery has tripled since 1930; working capital in agriculture has quadrupled since 1940; the number of tractors on farms has increased from 1,000,000 in 1935 to 4,500,000 in 1955. As a result of this remarkable rise in productive efficiency, the number of farms has declined from 6,300,000 in 1930 to 5,200,000 in 1954 and it is currently estimated that a third of those remaining are no longer needed to meet the demands of the domestic and export markets.

As *Fortune* is at considerable pains to make clear, the decline of American agriculture must continue despite its remarkable record of increased productivity. By 1980 only 8 per cent of the population will, by this reckoning, be living on farms as against 13.5 per cent today. And of the 8 per cent, only 4 per cent will be on the commercial farms that will then supply the nation's food; the others will be living on "residential" or part-time farms. Sooner or later we will arrive at the "magnificent" goal defined by *Fortune* as "the transformation of every genuine farmer into a highly capitalized, highly productive, highly specialized, prosperous professional entrepreneur."

Fortune's dream is, of course, the basis of the Administration's policy. In discussing his "small-farm program," the President has said that "off-the-farm" employment is the chief solution for the problem of displaced or marginal small farmers. The Administration has perversely insisted on regarding the farm problem not from the point of view of the American farmer, but in terms of a narrowly defined "efficiency." By what terms shall efficiency be measured? Are we interested in social as well as economic efficiency? What provision is being made for a "magnificently" declining farm population as automation "magnificently" cuts agricultural employment? Is the elimination of the family-sized farm socially desirable? Unfortunately, social considerations have not influenced agricultural planning in Washington since the disappearance of the last of those starry-eyed "idealists" one used to meet in the Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, whose misfortune it was to view American agriculture in terms of the well-being of American farmers as well as of the country as a whole.

How Much Can We Stand?

By Norman J. Birrell

[*As part of* The Nation's *efforts to acquaint its readers with what scientists have been saying about the effects of A- and H-bomb test explosions—see Peril from A-Dust, by G. H. Waddington, in our February* 19 *issue, and Biology and the Bomb, by Paul G. 'Espinasse, in our issue of June* 25*—we are reprinting the following excerpt from an important statement by Norman J. Birrell, Stratheona professor of zoology at McGill University, which appeared in the July* 9 *issue of* MacLean's Magazine. *Dr. Birrell's statement is particularly timely in view of the plea for the outlawing of war recently issued by Bertrand Russell in behalf of a group of world famous scientists. Dr. H. J. Muller, whose work is cited by Dr. Birrell, was one of the signers of the Russell statement.*]

WHILE most mutations appear to arise spontaneously, some are the result of natural radiation at the surface of the earth and any increase in the general radiation level raises the rate of their production. This has been shown experimentally in animals in the laboratory by Dr. Curt Stern, geneticist at the University of California, and we have no reason to believe that humans would be immune. In a recent publication Dr. H. J. Muller, professor of zoology at Indiana University, in fact estimates that about one quarter of all the mutations that arise in the reproductive cells of human beings are produced by the natural radiation resulting from radioactive materials in the earth's crust and the cosmic rays streaming in from outer space. In other words, we are already contending with undesirable results of radiation, and inasmuch as we endeavor to keep every born individual alive until he or she is old enough to reproduce in turn, we nurture our misfits along with the rest. Nature's way has been to get rid of the misfits as quickly as possible so that the strain remains health and vigorous.

What the test explosions have been doing is to raise the radiation level of the world we live in slightly above that which prevailed before. And since the radiactivity of fission products may last for a century, every time a bomb explodes the level is raised a little more. They all add up, and the longer we continue our pretty experiments the longer the excess radiation will take to die down.

This process would not spell the doom of humanity, however. Not even atomic war would do that. But the penalty for persisting in adding radioactive materials to the air we breathe and the ground we walk on could eventually become appalling. The greater part of the human race would become deficient in various ways, with loss of fertility, loss of vigor, and loss of intelligence. Sooner or later humanity would become incompetent to maintain the Atomic Age. Then in the course of a few centuries the man-made radioactivity would disappear, and during the course of the next few hundred thousand years the degenerate human stock would become weeded out and replaced by healthy strains that have survived among the wreckage. It would be a slow process of recovery and the Atomic Age would not have been worth the cost. It is our business to see that such a price will never have to be paid.

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GRASS-ROOTS RACISM

White Council at Work . . *by Alfred Maund*

Selma, Alabama

I JOINED the Dallas county White Citizens Council here the other night during a rally at which Georgia's former Governor Herman Talmadge gave bold counsel to an appreciative crowd of some 6,000 men, women, and children. The gathering, held at a municipal stadium, was the largest council meeting to date in Alabama. Talmadge represented the most important Southern politico yet to associate himself publicly with the Mississippi-spawned outfit. I sat through the two hours of oratory whose repetitiousness was emphasized by the echo of the public-address system off the far fence of the field, and was alternately moved to laughter, to pity, and to alarm.

Finding humor in the situation required a tough stomach, but I smiled at references to "leftist magazines like *Look* and *Life*," "the Mixocrats," meaning the national Democratic Party, and, a coinage of abuse that was new to me, anyway, "the National Association for the *Agitation* of Colored People." There were some nifty boners, too, such as one assertion that the N. A. A. C. P. "was founded in 1910 to take over after Russia had failed in its attempt to establish a black empire in the South." The state senator who introduced Talmadge read the first page of his prepared introduction twice before he caught himself. I don't think the crowd would have noticed if he had not made a flustered apology.

THE audience sat in the J-shaped concrete grandstand, as widely representative in age and social station as the crowd at a baseball game. They did not talk among themselves except for an occasional side remark; their attention remained fixed on the rickety speakers' platform mounted on home plate, and they applauded in ready unison. The women around me wore vague, Sunday-sermon expressions of relaxation; the men's eyes were squinted, hungry, as they sought the Word, or new versions of the Word, to take back to the crossroad stores and filling stations and lumber mills. The youngsters listened quietly, eager to catch on to the dialectic of the adult world. Two boys in their early teens who sat in front of me turned at regular intervals to ask me to repeat some florid phrase that they had missed.

It was much like an open-air revival meeting, only the assembly of sinners seeking expiation was a more earnest group than an old-time fundamentalist can expect these days—and the reason for this intensity, I think, is that the guilt to be washed away is apparent even to the most obtuse. Dallas county, of which Selma is the county seat, and the counties around it are Black Belt counties with large Negro populations that have been displaced from their traditional field labor by the shift from cotton to cattle-raising. Uprooted tenants are migrating in a steady stream, but the substantial numbers left behind still glut the job market and are obliged to work for wages as low as $2 a day "from sun to sun." In Selma the median income for Negro families amounted to $865 in 1950. This economic imbalance, plus virtual disenfranchisement and harsh legal surveillance, produces visible results in the fantastic shacks that stretch for blocks like a poisonous dream.

The Black Belt white shares the dilemma of the South African Boer. He suffers the psychological disquiet of being outnumbered by Negroes, but he is reluctant to let Negroes leave because of the financial and egotistic gratifications their exploitation furnishes. The Supreme Court public-school desegregation decision, taken as an indication that the rest of the country misunderstands and disapproves of his position, has heightened this regional neurosis. The W. C. C. spokesmen offered no prescriptions at Selma, they only pandered to confusion. They distorted both science and Holy Scripture, with one speaker shouting, "If segregation is cruel and unjust, then God Almighty is to be blamed, not us." They urged impeachment of "the nine men who are not fit to empty the wastebaskets of Justices of the past." They professed glowing love for the "good" Southern Negro and felt certain they were loved in return. The "mulattoes" of the North are the ones behind the "mongrelization menace."

THESE frenetic thoughts are not expressive of the attitude of the state of Alabama as a whole, much less the entire South. Their potency can be counted on to diminish with time. But the time required is a matter of concern, and the presence of Herman Talmadge—"Young Hummun"—on the platform that night made it a matter for some alarm. He is the Golden Boy of Deep South politics at the moment. Repeated reports have it that he is going to force Senator George into retirement and move to Washington next year. He has a remarkable knockout record. He impelled Adlai Stevenson to pay a conciliatory visit to Georgia in 1953, and he won the affection of the erstwhile Talmadge-hating Atlanta *Constitution* and *Journal*. That night he sat in the stadium, his legs spread while he kicked at his folding chair with confident energy, looking like a middleweight title contender surrounded by handlers, waiting for an exhibition bout to begin.

He performed in classy style, too. His diction was perfect, his tones pear-shaped—only his flopping black forelock and his loud red socks certified his descent from old Gene. His speech began with a sketch of the founding of the Republic and he belabored with scholarly flourishes the growth of Big Government and the rise of the rampant bureaucrat. He seemed to be working up to a plug for the Bricker Amendment, but then he abruptly changed scripts in midstream and began ridiculing the

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Supreme Court and upholding the divine integrity of the white race.

Remarkably, Talmadge was the only speaker to mention "economic reprisal," which has become the trademark of the councils. After summarizing the legal defenses Georgia has rigged against integration, he recommended that "present-day scalawags" be treated as follows: "Don't admit them to your homes. Don't let them eat at your table. Don't let them trade at your store or filling station." This presumably applies only to white foes of segregation; he did not lay down sanctions appropriate to Negroes.

The reluctance of the White Citizens Council chieftains to talk publicly about tactics was matched by their desire to claim respectability. Appearing as an impeccable front for the Mississippi unit was its executive secretary, Robert Patterson. Ex-football star, operator of a large Delta plantation, relatively decorous in speech and modest of manner, he told how women's auxiliaries were being formed in his home state. His fellow Mississippian at the festival, Yale-educated Judge Tom Brady of Brookhaven, was saturnine, and enamoured of purple prose. He is lightly regarded as a perennial officeseeker in Mississippi, but this day he outdid Talmadge as a spellbinder. Still, he sprinkled his harangue with exhortations to "keep our cause on a high plane." He denounced the N. A. A. C. P. as being party to a giant plot by "Socialist preachers, Communist teachers, and leftist editors" to stir up class, racial, and religious strife; he pleaded for unity and tolerance. However, his paper-bound book "Black Monday," which was being peddled at the meeting, held stronger views. "It is lamentable that attention should be called to the alarming increase of Jewish names in the ranks of Communist-front organizations of this country," one chapter of the rambling, supercharged text disingenuously begins.

THE recruitment drive held at the meeting also strained at being open and genteel. A loudspeaker droned, "If you have come to hear Governor Talmadge speak, you are interested in segregation, one way or another, so join your local Citizens Council." Booths with oil-cloth signs reading, "Join here, Dues $3," were stationed

Herman Talmadge

at the entrances. I had intended to watch the enlisting process, but it was impossible because there was no appreciable business going on at any of the stands. Finally, to be able to learn what was involved, I joined up myself. After all, I was interested in segregation "one way or another." It was the fastest three dollars I ever spent. I told the stocky funds-taker I lived in another county, so was I eligible? He said, "Sure, we've got lots from your county." He wrote the name and address on a three-by-five card, and that was it. No oath, no badge—no receipt. While I was standing there another volunteer appeared, as furtive and frantic as a man placing a bet with a corner bookie at post time. He tossed down his money, whispered his name, and dashed off into the crowd without waiting to see the transaction recorded.

This lack of enthusiasm to become "activists" was reflected further when an invitation to come shake hands with Talmadge was politely but almost unanimously declined by the crowd at the end of the meeting. It bore out the sardonic remarks of a non-Black Belt Alabamian, who had told me before the meeting: "Those bastards ain't going to take sides. They know the Supreme Court is the one that made the decision and they don't want the F. B. I. coming around investigating them, because everyone of them has something they want to hide." Such response—or rather lack of response—was the most heartening thing about the affair.

The White Citizens Councils are prominent and malignant in Mississippi. Their stalwarts, Delta planters, take credit for passage of an infinitely complex vote-registration law, and for scaring away those Negroes who have registered and those who urge them to register. They are accused of murdering an N. A. A. C. P. leader, of forcing foreclosures—even by federal agencies—on Negro farmers, and of ousting uncooperative white pastors. But what should be remembered is that the Delta planters, by virtue of their wealth and their disproportionate political power, have always done these things to "uppity" Negroes and dissident whites without benefit of a formal organization. All the admitted or alleged achievements of the W. C. C. have taken place in the Delta; the "hill country" whites have been more reserved. In Alabama the Black Belt land barons hold a firm grip on their domains, but their statewide influence is being sharply challenged by the growing populations of the industrial sections. By their own pronouncements, the councils have not been able to gain foothold outside the Black Belt.

IT CAN be argued, then, that the formation of the councils marked no gain of strength by the vested racists, but rather an admission of weakness. And among the vested racists one should include not only the large landowners but also such corporations as the Georgia Power Company, which has been a friend indeed to the Talmadges. They saw that they stood isolated in the defense of their peculiar institutions, and they are condescending to include other, if poorer, whites in their clique for the nonce.

They are employing the same strategy the ante bellum plantation owners used to get the non-slave-owning farmers to fight the Civil War; the same strategy which, about fifty years ago, led to the disenfranchisement of not only the Negro but a substantial number of whites. They are mouthing legalisms and piety to lure the timid while at the same time employing "Aesopian language" to inspire the feverish to acts of violence and intimidation. Judge Brady declaimed at one point, "We are coming to see that the Stygian cold of apathy is worse than the infernal heat of bloodshed and strife." It is doubtful that many of the audience unraveled the classical imagery, but his tone and insinu-

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ation were clear to all present.

The press of Alabama has generally been hostile toward the councils, but—unhappy echoes of McCarthy—they dare criticize only the methods, not the objectives. Lacking is a voice of even moderate courage to correct the demagogues' perversions of historical fact. Yet, despite all, there is evidence that the Common Man in the Deep South, however much he may enjoy the racial views of Talmadge and Company, is reluctant to take up a rifle or go to jail in their behalf.

THE ELECTRONIC CLERK

Is Your Job in Peril? . . *by Bernard Nossiter*

THE vacuum tube and the magnetic tape are moving into the bachelor female's preserve—the nation's business offices. In their wake will come a battery of social and economic problems that offer trade unions a prime chance to organize white-collar workers.

So far, automation on the production line has made the biggest splash. But "automation is likely to have its greatest immediate impact on office occupations," say George B. Baldwin and George P. Shultz of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the Monthly Labor Review. "Automation will have an even greater impact on the white-collar field than in the industrial field," predicts C. I. O.'s Education and Research Director Stanley H. Ruttenberg. However, exploiting white-collar automation for trade-union membership depends on reversing two strong tendencies. One is the traditional resistance, compared to production workers, of clerks to unions. The other is the labor movement's burgeoning bureaucracy which shows much more interest in extending gains within organized industries than in reaching out for the unsheltered.

The new office technology is embodied in large boxes called electronic data-processing machines. These awesome gadgets store great quantities of information and perform mathematical operations on their contents with incredible speed. International Business Machine's large computer, renting for $20,000 to $30,000 a month, can perform 10,000 internal operations a second. One of its 2,400-foot magnetic reels carries more than 5,000,000 characters.

The boxes, although less decorative, make surplus Miss Suzie Jones whose job typically is to go to a cabinet, look up a paper, copy an item from it onto a form, and then replace the paper and put the form in another cabinet. Typists, file clerks, billing clerks, payroll clerks, production-control clerks, inventory-control clerks, accounting clerks can all be supplanted. "For some business operations, computers can replace almost the entire work force," Professor Walter S. Buckingham of Georgia Tech told the C. I. O.'s April automation conference.

THE big brains are already installed or on the way to every major industry. At the start of June, twenty-three of I. B. M.'s newest models, the 700 series, were in operation and 130 were on order. The smaller, 650 series, capable of a mere 100 internal operations a second, had been ordered by 600 companies with thirty already at work. I. B. M. and Remington Rand are the two giants in the king-sized computer field.

I. M. B.'s best customers to date have been the front offices of aircraft builders, electrical manufacturers, and insurance companies. Douglas Aircraft, for example, feeds parts inventory data into a machine. Thus, when an assembly job must be done requiring hundreds of items from many storage bins, punch cards tell the requisition-filler the optimum stockroom sequence to fill his list. Prudential Life replaced eighty-six machines with one I. B. M. 702. It will service 80,000 policies a day, sending out annually ten million premium notices, and accounting for an equal number of remittances. These tasks, horeover, are only a beginning. In time, more jobs will be programmed and handed to the computers. Any firm with large quantities of paper work is a good customer for an electronic computer.

Business, of course, turns to electronic computers for one primary reason. They cut labor costs. National City Bank put a trial problem to an I. B. M. device that normally requires 1,000 man-hours; the machine did the job in nine and a half minutes. Prudential's machine now does the work of 200 people. Franklin Life Insurance Company has bought a Univac from Remington Rand (which, unlike I. B. M. sells as well as rents) that will also replace 200 people. Its planning vice-president told the *Wall Street Journal* that Univac will save $425,000 a year and pay for itself in four years or less. No one has calculated how many workers have been displaced by existing models with their assigned jobs; it would be impossible, of course, to determine what level future displacement could reach with improved models and new tasks.

Nevertheless, a leading automation consultant, John Diebold, thinks the computers will "score their greatest gains" by giving management "better and far more current information" than it now gets; for example, producing profit and loss statements in one day rather than thirty days after books close. He thinks this will be a bigger selling point than "reductions in clerical staff." But another consultant, Hiram S. Hall, told the American Management Association in May that labor is "pricing itself out of the

BERNARD NOSSITER is on the staff of a New York metropolitan daily.

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market" and forcing management to turn to automation. A *Journal of Commerce* summary also concluded the incentive is "high labor costs."

The new technology has set off a wordy debate about whether it is properly called revolution or evolution. Behind these labels lies a key question with profound implications for public and trade-union policy: how fast will offices automate? Dr. Cuthbert C. Hurd, I. B. M.'s Director of Electronic Data-Processing Machines, says a series of restraining influences are at work that will check rapid conversion and he decries talk of revolution. Dr. Hurd notes the big computers cost around $1,000,000 each to build and I. B. M.'s productive capacity is limited. Moreover, it takes about a year to train a dozen engineers to service one machine and customers must spend months programming jobs for it. He predicts I. B. M. will be installing them at arithmetical, not geometric rates of increase. But computer-makers have a vested interest in assuring the public the new technology won't cause major disturbances. They fear unions and government may develop programs that would inhibit their customers. In any case, industry, public-relations wise, tends to speak with one voice to the public and another to itself. T. V. Learson, an I. B. M. official, told 150 bankers last November that at least 100 banking organizations alone would find big computers useful for accounting and other tasks. General Electric, opening a new plant to produce assembly-line automation equipment in May, predicted demand would double by 1961 and triple by 1965. In a letter circulated to its own management, G. E. said "the question is not whether a given industry or all industry will automate as far and fast as feasible" but "whether a given company will be among the leaders of the parade, or will try to follow, or will even earlier fall by the wayside . . . the employer must automate to stay alive . . . it is imperative . . . that he remove from his payroll any substantial surplus of employees . . ." W. C. Newberg, president of Chrysler's Dodge Division, put it simply to the Society of Automotive Engineers: "Automate or die."

This warning is more likely to be heeded sooner in offices than in production lines. Industry will not want to wipe out its investment in existing capital equipment. No such barrier, however, will interfere with automation in offices where investment is comparatively small and labor costs high.

But in public, industry has tried to pour oil on troubled thinkers, assuring its listeners that everything will work out for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

Benjamin Fairless, retired United States Steel chairman, approvingly quotes a report that "the manufacturing industry on the whole has passed on to its customers and employees virtually all of the savings from increased productivity—that rarely and only temporarily have the owners retained any gains whatever from this source." G.E. tells its management that those displaced by machines will be "quickly absorbed in the new jobs created as the new savings go into added purchases." If there is some temporary dislocation, "the employer has provided out of his funds alone an unemployment compensation." Mr. Diebold notes that automation is now a $3,000,000,000 industry itself, providing new jobs, making available new products and more jobs. Also, he says, early retirement reduces the labor supply.

BEHIND much industry talk is an implicit assumption that lower production costs will bring lower prices, that lower prices will increase demand to be met by increased output requiring more workers. This theory has all the simple charm of a beginning economics textbook. It overlooks the more advanced theory which deals with topics like administered prices. The cost of electronic computers is high; it is thus no accident that their customers are industry's blue chips—Metropolitan Life, U. S. Steel, DuPont, and the like. Both theory and practice demonstrate that firms in oligopolistic industry maximize profits by limiting output and maintaining price rather than lowering prices. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney says that automation technology is "likely to find its fullest use in the so-called 'administered price' industries where prices are notoriously insensitive to decreases in cost." Moreover, the competitive advantages of automation are likely to increase tendencies towards oligopoly, towards fewer firms in a given industry.

Dave Beck of the Teamsters Union, a business-minded man, said recently, "I have complete confidence in the capacity and ability of industry to assimilate the workers displaced by automation." But then Mr. Beck added, "This is where the union plays such an important role because this can be accomplished over the collective-bargaining table in the type of contracts we negotiate. Contracts must include a shorter work week; good retirement and pension and welfare programs are essential. Also increased unemployment compensation. A guaranteed annual wage is important, too, for workers who have peaks and valleys in their employment."

In sum, says Beck, business can save us from automation's dislocations—if strong unions compel business to share its savings and relieve the short-run burdens. Higher wages, earlier pension, broader seniority and preferential rehiring, bigger severance payments, relocating and retraining the technologically unemployed have also been added to Mr. Beck's prescription by other labor spokesmen. But all these programs depend on organization at both the political and the economic level.

The white-collar worker, however, is far less organized than his blue-collar brother. A Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of seventeen major labor markets in 1953-54 found four of five plant workers under union

Orders By Magic

The new and somewhat amazing electronic order-invoice system [replaces] repetitious manual paper work processing and all its chances for human error with foolproof electronic "brains" and "hands" . . . . Pre-punched cards, which include the customer's name, address, and shipping-charge information, are matched with product-description cards key-punched with information pertinent to the order, and "mark-sensed" to indicate quantity. The cards are fed into a card-to-tape-machine which . . . . controls a teletype transmitter which produces three copies of the order for sales department use. Simultaneously, hundreds of miles away in the warehouse nearest the customer, a receiving appearatus receives three copies for shipping orders.

From an advertisement in the New York Times by the Rockwell Manufacturing Company.

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contract compared to one in six office workers. White-collar workers are "essentially middle class in outlook," a *Harvard Business Review* study by George Strauss observed. "To them unions are dirty, noisy, and 'lower class.'" The large number of female office workers, moving in and out of job markets, also make organizing difficult. Whatever the problem, the new technology may force office people to abandon some cherished myths. Kenneth O'Dell, president of the C. I. O. Insurance Workers, has discovered automation is a selling point in signing up new members.

Two of three office workers under contract, the B. L. S. found, are in the same union as plant workers. It is just here that status drives are most likely to divide members. The "pure" white-collar unions, like the A. F. of L.'s 60,000 member Office Employees International, so far have not demonstrated signal success in signing up the unorganized millions in their jurisdiction. But George Meany and Walter Reuther both told O. E. I. U.'s recent convention that white-collar organizing will get top priority from the merged federation. Merger talks are also underway among independent, C. I. O., and A. F. of L. office-worker unions. If labor costs are spurring automation, a side effect unlooked for by industry could well be the mass organization of its targets.

NEW CRISIS IN KENYA

Adventure in Imperialism . . *by Keith Irvine*

BECAUSE—as in the music-hall song that gave the word "jingo" to the English language—the British have "got the ships, got the guns, and got the money too," they are on the verge of establishing military control in Kenya, even though it is publicly admitted that "pockets" of Mau Mau in the forests may continue resistance for as long as another ten years.

Ever since a state of emergency was tardily proclaimed in October, 1952, the British have been in the habit of speaking of their "two-pronged attack" upon the situation. The first stroke constitutes the military suppression of the Mau Mau revolt; the second, an "attack" upon the political and social problems that have given rise to Mau Mau. The military punch having been delivered, the British are now following through with their political punch, in the hope that it may prove the knock-out blow. Initially it takes the form of the East Africa Royal Commission Report, a 482-page document published on June 9.

From the British point of view the publication of this report is timed to a nicety. It appears at a moment when military advantage coincides with a mounting demand, both in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the world, that the British authorities take the initiative in controlling the Kenya settler community and/or the Kikuyu Mau Mau. In addition to this the British Conservatives find themselves newly-elected with a popular mandate. (The report, ready months ago, was delayed until after the British general election.) It becomes difficult to imagine a more favorable moment for initiating a new Kenya policy. For, although official hand-outs are at pains to stress that the report does not represent government policy, its recommendations plainly foreshadow the guiding principles to be used in the new chapter now opening in the history of British East African colonialism.

The first fact that leaps to the eye in examining the report is that it is not, as might be expected, a report solely on Kenya, but upon all three East African territories—the Crown Colony of Kenya, the Protectorate of Uganda, and the U. N. Trust Territory of Tanganyika. This fact will appear less surprising, however, when it is remembered that the idea of the report originally sprang from the brain of Sir Phillip Mitchell, Governor of Kenya from 1944-52, who is an advocate of federation of the white-controlled governments of these three territories. For, by considering the problems of the three territories as if they fell naturally within the same frame of reference, the report implies that solutions should also be applied on the same basis. Nor does it stop merely at implication. It specifically recommends the creation of a single intra-territorial authority for mineral exploitation, to be known as the East African Prospecting and Mining Leases Board, the establishment of an East African Road Corporation, and an East African railways and harbors administration.

Plainly the publication of the report is the opening gun in the stormy battle for East African Federation—a project that has been violently opposed by African leaders in the three territories concerned. In Tanganyika, where the British rejected out of hand a U. N. commission's recent recommendation that a target date for self-government within twenty years be established, feeling against federation runs high. Ugandans have also expressed themselves strongly on this subject. Even the tiny but influential white minorities in these two territories have balked at the thought of unification with the inflamed body politic of Kenya. Nevertheless it is an open secret that British policy is oriented towards the project of eventually founding an East African super-state. Once established, the coterminous "nations" of East and Central Africa could together realize

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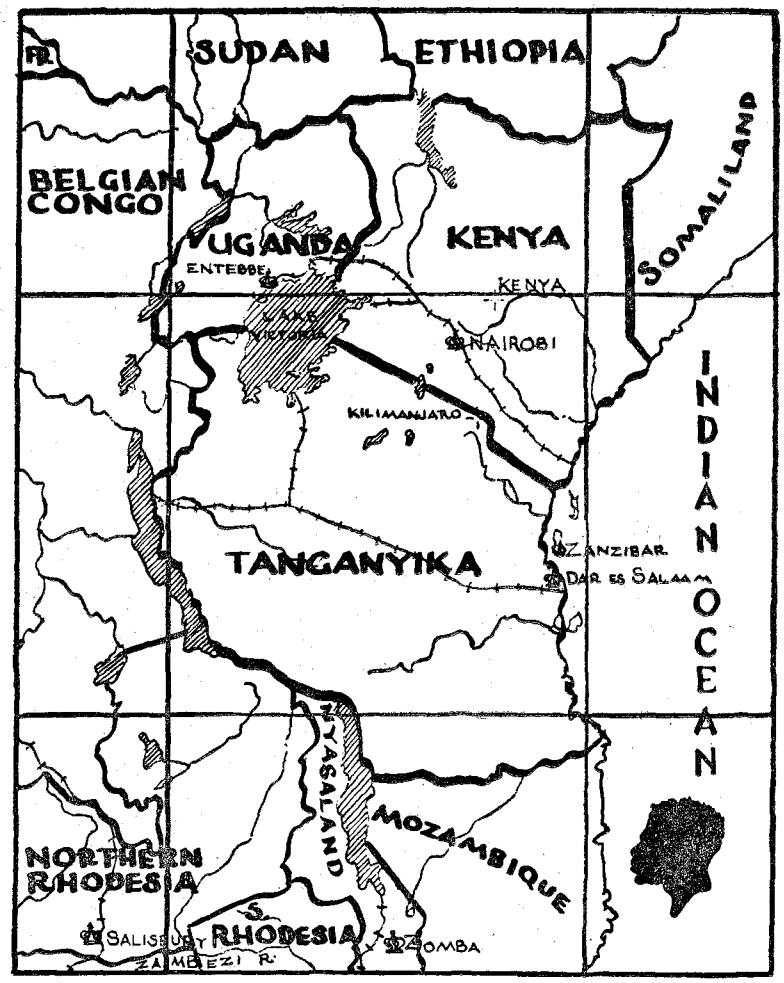

Proposed Federation: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika

the old German dream of a *Mittelafrika*—a giant state stretching from the borders of Strijdom's South Africa up to the frontiers of the Sudan. There is, however, one paramount objection to this: the Africans do not want it.

Collective land ownership, racial differences, tribal customs, African religion, and other resistances to the Western way of life, the report in effect contends, are best thrown into Mammon's melting pot for speedy dissolution. In accordance with such a mode of political thinking, the authors of the report naturally justify whatever moral misgivings they may have by assuming that the obtaining of profits by outside investors is synonymous with the raising of African standards of living. That such a raising of standards is an automatic consequence of capital investment is of course not inevitable—as many historical precedents, in Africa and elsewhere, testify. Secondly, even if some such amelioration were to take place, it could of course occur only as an incidental good attendant upon the fundamental evil: a movement away from Kenya's economic independence through a further reaffirmation of extraneous white financial interests in the country.

The most basic problem is that of land tenure. The report recommends that Africans and Europeans alike throw open "their" lands to the operation of the market, making them available for unrestricted sale and individual ownership. Numerous references to the need for ending the concept of the "White Highlands" distracts attention from the fact that the abolition of the principle of "discrimination" in land ownership, instead of curing present African grievances, further jeopardizes the security of tenure of those lands that Africans now hold. In Tanganyika, for example, the pressure of business interests attempting to alienate more tribal land from Africans has been great, but has been resisted with some success, although there have also been reverses as in the recent forcible eviction of some of the Meru tribe from their ancestral lands.

Adoption of the new proposals would mean that money becomes the arbiter of land ownership. Do the authors of the report profess no knowledge as to which community possesses the money? They themselves explicitly state that there is a need for the African to be placed upon a wage-earning basis. By the time that this has been done the foundations of African society will have been largely undermined by money from abroad, and the land—the very basis of life itself, however it be used—pulled from out of African control as neatly as if a rug were pulled from under a man's feet. With a present estimated African population in the three territories of close to 19,000,000 as compared to a total European population of 69,000, the problem plainly concerns the future rather than the present. Nevertheless, the establishment of this principle, combined with the further white immigration—a new immigration campaign was launched only the other week—would be sufficient to lay the foundations of a future inimical to African interests.

WRESTING the land from African control implies, of course, the scattering of the tribes and the death of tribal religion, with its mystique of the relation between people and land. Thinking of the excesses of Mau Mau, there may be those who will hold this to be a good thing. The fact remains, however, that Mau Mau stands in much the same relation to the Kikuyu religion as did the Black Mass to mediaeval Christianity. It is no accident that the Black Mass and peasant uprisings, such as the Jacquerie, were both characteristic of fourteenth-century Europe, marking the death throes of the old pre-Christian order. In twentieth-century East Africa, however, what is envisaged is not the indigenous development of a new society so much as the imposition of an alien form of life from above.

Even that bulwark of enlightened British conservatism, the London *Times*, expresses misgivings at the "revolutionary" recommendations of the Royal Commission's report, declaring that the disintegration of tribal structures will give place to "the perennial distress of the unassimilated urban proletariat." To propose a tropical slum as the cure for the situation which produced Mau

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Mau bears witness to the bankruptcy of the British ideal in Africa today.

But what hope *does* the report offer to the Africans? Not, that is, to the "safe," screened, and politically sterilized minority, but to the future leaders, the passionate nationalists, and to those sullen Kenyan villagers who, the British admit, still remain sympathetic to the aims of Mau Mau whatever collective punishments they may receive. What substance does the report offer to such as these to nourish their demand for self-respect and the right to choose and work towards liberty as they—and not as the Westerners—conceive it? The answer is inevitably a dusty one. The Royal Commission's summons to the African to give up his way of life is hardly likely to achieve more success than the calls to surrender habitually rejected by Mau Mau forces.

After casting the African, willy-nilly, into the modern world of supply and demand, capital and labor, getting and spending, the report does not even recommend the usual modern safeguards, going so far as to specify the unsuitability of trade unions "on the British" pattern. In Kenya today the whites are the employers as well as the rulers, and the Africans the workers as well as the ruled, so this comment is hardly surprising. The fact remains that trade unionism, in embryo, has already been established in the territory.

Since the future of Kenya is now being outlined in multi-racial terms, it is legitimate to ask what hope there will be for multi-racialism if all the power is to remain in the hands of one race? Power will be shared only by encouraging self-reliance amongst Africans in their relations visa-vis the whites. Since the Africans constitute the workers, the encouragement of trade unions is the only possible way to build up this self-reliance.

IT IS also unfortunate that the report does not face the other basic necessity for founding a multi-racial state in Kenya—the establishment of multi-racial education. It has been stated that if the principle of multi-racial education were to be generally introduced in Kenya, an immediate exodus of whites would result. If this is true, nothing could demonstrate more eloquently the fact that the whites who have congregated in Kenya are inimical to that country's best interests. For only multi-racial education can guarantee any degree of racial stability in the Kenya of tomorrow. At the moment, however, there is only one multi-racial school throughout the entire territory—a pilot project, highly unpopular with the settler extremists, and subsidized by the government with a niggardly $7,000 a year. The same sum, spent on "security," is just enough to turn one of the propellors of one of the aircraft that are now dropping bombs on the Aberdares. Such a calculated disproportion in expenditure may indeed "end the Emergency by Christmas," but that is the best that it can achieve.

Whatever turning the conflict between Mau Mau and the British may now take, the underlying problem of Kenya's future independence will remain. For if the six million inhabitants of Kenya are to attain dignity and freedom, their future society has to be conceived in terms of self-liberation. This alone can warrant genuine progress, as opposed to the palliatives advanced by the East Africa Royal Commission's report.

RAIDING THE JOBLESS

The Attack on Benefits . . *by Steven Warshaw*

San Francisco

ONE of the axioms of American social legislation is that it is only enacted when pressure for it is intense. Federal unemployment compensation was one response to the depression. Enacted as part of the Social Security Act of 1936, it survived repeated attack in the courts and in Congressional hearings. It has also survived maladministration in several states, the lack of enthusiasm of local governments, and an inhibited growth. The question now is: can it survive prosperity?

Despite the industrial boom, expansion of federal and state law has become necessary. Between 500,000 and 800,000 persons are entering the labor market every year. Millions of jobs are being taken over by machines. In addition, if the guaranteed annual wage becomes an accepted part of the economy, unemployment compensation will be its core.

Yet last year more than two million workers exhausted the sums due them under present laws. Weekly payments, moreover, were in many states nearer the level of depression pay than of the post-war period. When President Eisenhower signed an increase of $5 into the District of Columbia law last fall, Labor Secretary Mitchell sent a letter to governors urging that increases be made by the states. But a $5 increase in a dividend is not the whole picture. While benefits are going up in some states, the chances of getting it are going down, especially for the lowest income groups. And on the state administrative level, a patchwork of amendments is working to change the basic philosophy of the unemployment acts.

The state that typifies the new philosophy is California. In some respects it was a test state for liberalizing unemployment compensation. One of the first to enact the law, it became one of the most generous with benefits, duration of payment, and extent of payment. But things have changed. Within the past few years California decreed first, that workers must show definite attachment to the labor market be-

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fore making a claim. That was intended to disqualify transient and migratory workers. Second, it ruled that if a worker earned 75 per cent of his qualifying wages in a single quarter he could not receive benefits. That eliminated thousands of seasonal cannery workers. In its present session, the state's assembly voted to double the qualifying minimum to $600, thereby eliminating an estimated 17,000 to 30,000 more.

It is true that more white-collar workers have been brought into the compensation program. But the workers for whom the law was essentially created, those with the least purchasing power in the least stable industries, have been shut out. Moreover, this process is being achieved in more ways than by merely making disqualifications severe. It is abetted by some of the most stringent administration in the history of the laws. California's department of employment, a one billion-dollar bureau that is among the largest in the country, is headed by William A. Burkett, who was formerly vice-president of the Inter-Association Unemployment Insurance Committee, a group of some of the state's most powerful employers.

While a management spokesman, Burkett's goal was to reduce the cost of the compensation program. At first he said 4,000 persons took $620,917 in fraudulent claims from the reserve fund in 1951. A year later his estimate grew to $20,000,000. He then demanded that restrictive amendments be passed. Governor Warren answered Burkett by saying, "Anybody can pick a figure out of the air and make a general accusation when he has no responsibility for proving it. It's a libel on the working people of the state." But Burkett had become a power to be reckoned with. Only a few years before he had been a scrupulously nonpolitical agent for the Treasury Department. About the time a San Francisco newspaperman broke the story of favoritism by officials of the Internal Revenue Bureau, however, he resigned, protesting that his bosses had held back on the prosecution of racketeers. His testimony before the Kefauver and State Crime Committees became a significant factor in the 1952 elections and made him a hero of the Republican Party. After he made an unsuccessful race for Congress he was given the

Governor Knight

employers' association job. When Warren left for the Supreme Court, Governor Knight chose Burkett, in one of his first appointments, to head the employment department. Labor unions, in California represented mainly by the A. F. of L., protested in vain.

As director, Burkett continued to find more fraud. "Since unemployment-insurance payments started in 1938," he announced, "$200,000,000 would be a conservative estimate of the sum lost by the state of California to chiselers." All of Burkett's charges, of course, have been more than welcome ammunition for business groups who have been watching their tax bill for unemployment benefits grow year by year. Every Hearst newspaper is under orders to publicize abuses until they now appear to be out of proportion to their extent. On the national level, *U. S. News and World Report* fired the opening shot. "Scandals in jobless pay," said one article datelined Sacramento. "States find up to one-fifth of benefits illegal." The magazine had only Burkett to support the figure. New York has found its fraud rate to be far lower.

How did Burkett arrive at the notion that anywhere from 15 to 43 per cent of California's unemployed are defrauding their government? The seventy-six investigators in his department do not examine many claims. Instead they concentrate their efforts, spending as long as forty hours on each. This comprises what Burkett believes to be a random sample sufficient to reveal fraud in claims. Across California, where $11,700,000 is paid out to a weekly average of 117,716 claims, his men check 130 cases in an entire quarter.

Many mathematicians agree this random sampling method may be accurate. But here the mathematicians are dealing in figures for which they may never find confirmation. For although Burkett boasts of doubling his convictions of frauds—thereby "proving" his case—judges say many of them are convictions in the technical sense only. Defendants rarely are imprisoned. They plead guilty when approached by investigators. Most, say judges, take the money in ignorance and are willing to pay it back. Nevertheless, they are charged as criminals, often for "frauds" as low as a few dollars.

Whether or not he is accurate, Burkett's solution to the problem is an impressive example of the new approach to unemployment compensation. He wants to double most penalties for fraud. Because he believes the greatest proportion of frauds falls in the lowest income groups, he wants to remove them from the program by increasing qualifying earnings. His way to cut out fraud, in short, is to cut out claimants.

IN THE meanwhile, the source of the problem in California is rarely mentioned. Using the common rating system, the state taxes employers on a sliding scale that may go down from a top of 2.7 per cent of covered wages to nothing at all. The tax on businesses with the least turnover is zero. This system means that big firms, especially subsidized ones, may pay nothing into their state's reserve fund while the small or seasonal industries send millions of workers to make claims and are taxed heavily for it. But in neither case are the companies responsible for their employment capacity or lack of it. That, according to economists, is a national phenomenon. These flaws in the program prompted Sinclair Week's business advisory committee to hold an executive session last fall. The best reason for liberalizing the state laws, it said, is that the benefits act as a "wedge against the guaranteed annual wage." But if the states maintain the present tax structure for big businesses, they will be tempted to finance liberalization by reducing the scope of the program, as the California experience shows.

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BOOKS

The "Different" French

FRANCE AGAINST HERSELF. By Herbert Luethy. Translated by Eric Mosbacher. Frederick A. Praeger. $6.50.

By Alexander Werth

THE ORIGINAL German title of this book is "Frankreichs Uhren Gehen Anders," which means all kinds of things—that the French "way of life" is slower than that of the other capitalist countries of the world; that the French do not, in their foreign or colonial policy, keep in step with the rest of the world; that, altogether, they are "different"—that they are, in short, as was so often said fifty or a hundred years ago, "the Chinese of Europe." (Not, of course, the Chinese of today, but the Chinese with pigtails.)

There is some truth in all this, and Mr. Luethy's general idea of trying to show just *why* the French are "different" was a good one. The result of his efforts is, however, disappointing. Whether he speaks of the French defeat of 1940, of Vichy, of the Liberation, of De Gaulle, of *tripartisme,* of the "firing" of the Communists from the Ramadier government in 1947, of the Schuman Plan, of EDC, of the Geneva Conference that put an end to the fighting in Indo-China, he seems to look at everything through a pair of distorting spectacles: one lens is focused, as it were, on the "quaintness" of the French, and the other is focused on both the wickedness and the "un-Frenchness" of the Communists. This distorted view results in some strange contradictions in Mr. Luethy's book: on the one hand, he seems to agree that the great majority of French opinion was anti-EDC (and he even quotes with relish Claude Bourdet's angry outburst, *"C'est Cambronne qu'il nous faut,"* when Anglo-American pressure at Bermuda in favor of a rapid ratification of EDC became plainly insulting to France); but then, when he comes to the actual rejection of EDC under Mendes-France in the summer of 1954, all he finds to say is that it was really rejected by a coalition of Communists "who represent no French cause" and Gaullists of whom he says, "it is no longer certain what they represent in the country." Perhaps Mr. Luethy is right in saying that France objected more, in the case of EDC, to its loss of control over its own army than to the actual fact of German rearmament; but to say that EDC was rejected by an "unrepresentative" coalition is to neglect the fact that people as weighty as ex-President Auriol, Marshal Juin, M. Herriot, General De Gaulle, dozens of other major public figures, and practically the whole intelligentsia of France, not to mention all the "vehement and self-centered groups" in Parliament (as Churchill called them in a moment of anger) were against EDC. That the French were "more favorable" to plain German rearmament is also a very doubtful suggestion: it was, in the end, only Churchill's threat of the "empty chair" that made them capitulate.

WHAT Mr. Luethy does not bring out clearly in his book are many of the truly fundamental facts: the fact that Vichy was, by and large, a triumph of the "sixth of February" spirit (and not just, as he puts it, "the old state apparatus, deprived of its republican and democratic facade") or that 1944-45 were, in the last analysis, not so much the personal triumph of De Gaulle, as the gradual triumph of a "derevolutionized" De Gaulle, allied to the *status quo ante* elements in France, over the revolutionary forces in the Resistance, not only Communist but also non-Communist and "New Dealer." The most interesting psychological evolution of De Gaulle from "rebel" to "champion of law and order" is not explained at all. Mr. Luethy takes the oversimple line that the early post-liberation years were merely chaotic; that the Communists were only interested in the purge of the traitors and collaborators and "wholly indifferent" to the structural reforms of the Resistance charter; if this was so, it was because they were anxiously waiting for the Red Army to march into France! All this is an absurd distortion of what really happened. So long as the cold war had not become too violent, the Communists were, on the contrary, not only extremely interested in seeing the Resistance charter applied (and did a good deal in that direction as members of the government), but, what is more, they hoped to remain in the government as an orderly government party, and to gain gradual control of France. Hence the fact that at the end of 1944 Thorez actually came to De Gaulle's rescue when he took the side of the central government against the revolutionary Liberation committees and the *milices patriotiques,* and when he summoned the working class to "work like blazes" for the rapid restoration of French industry and the French economy generally. The truth is that De Gaulle (and "bourgeois society") benefited greatly from the presence of the Communists in the government, and from the moderating influence Thorez was constantly exercising on the revolutionary temper of the working class and on their legitimate economic discontent. No doubt the Communists hoped to gain from all this in the end, whereas in reality they were "duped" when, with Marshall Plan aid coming to the rescue, they were told that their services were no longer required. But the fact remains that, as British Ambasdador Duff Cooper told me at the end of 1945: "It's very, very smart of De Gaulle to keep the Communists in the government—it's saving him no end of complications." The more "romantic" or "Blanquist" elements in the Communist Party (Marty and Tillor among them) foresaw this Communist fiasco very clearly.

On the question of why the Communists were "fired," Mr. Luethy gives only a partial explanation. It is quite true, as he says, that their position in the government was becoming untenable, with the Renault workers going out on strike, and challenging the Communist ministers to disavow a further freezing of wages; but the reasons for the de-

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parture of the Communist Ministers were much more fundamental: after the breakdown of the Four Power Conference in Moscow in April, 1947, the cold war had reached an acute stage, and the continuance of *tripartisme,* which had always symbolized, internally, the international unity of East and West, had become nonsense. Moreover, it was increasingly impossible for the Communists to stay in a government that was, against their advice, continuing the war in Indo-China and had condoned the massacres in Madagascar in March, 1947. And finally, it was clear that France badly needed United States aid, and that the presence of the Communists in the Ramadier government was an obstacle, as the State Department had, indeed, made it amply clear to Leon Blum in Washington a year before.

I NEED not dwell here on some of Mr. Luethy's particularly silly polemics—for instance when he challenges the Communist claim that in the Resistance 75,000 Communists were shot, whereas in reality, he says, they had produced only 176 names! The fact remains that the Liberation armies (F. F. I., F. T. P. F., and other forces of the Resistance and Liberation)—a high proportion of them Communists—lost 79,000 men, that 65,000 "political and Resistance deportees" died in Germany, as well as 40,000 "forced-labor" persons, not to mention the 117,000 "racial deportees." (Official figures reprinted in *Le Monde,* December 8, 1954.)

Not only wholly irresponsible "polemics" like Mr. Luethy's figure of "176 Communists shot," but the generally muddled thinking that pervades the whole book make it disappointing. France *is* a "difficult" and highly complicated country, with a singularly tricky position in the Western world. Its very reluctance to be a satellite of America, combined with its willingness to be economically dependent on America; its mental superiority complex, combined with a physical inferiority complex; its *poujadisme,* and the provincial backwardness of the Center and South, combined with the fastest and most efficient railway trains in Europe; its highly developed social services and its 5,000,000 Communist votes—all this is not easy to explain in even a long essay on France. It could, however, have been done. Only, what Mr. Luethy lacks is a proper gift of historical analysis, and, above all, a detailed knowledge of the actual facts.

WITHOUT a proper study of both the internal and international facts (with their amazing *parallelism* in France) determining a given development, be it the rise and fall of De Gaulle's R. P. F. or the sudden rise of McCarthyism in France in 1952, or the Mendes-France phenomenon, one cannot hope to write a convincing and coherent story. Moreover, one sometimes wonders whether Mr. Luethy is not approaching France with far too many preconceived notions. Thus he employs, over and over again, the old cliche about French super-centralism, with Paris as the center of the spider's web—and, indeed, the spider itself. I am sure he has not read an important recent book like Mr. Brian Chapman's "French Local Government" (London, 1953), which would remove from his mind many of these time-honored cobwebs.

Fugitive from a Chain Reaction

THE HOUND OF EARTH. By Vance Bourjaily. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

By Herbert Gold

VANCE BOURJAILY'S first novel, "The End of My Life," had a slightly anachronistic flavor. It told of a second world war that was something of a lark, with ironic sad young men going to Africa to make funny conversation and die. With its extreme youthfulness it constituted a poignant memorial to the wide-eyed college intellectual of the last days of the New Deal.

"The Hound of Earth" reveals a writer purified of most of the postures of extreme youth. The mocking bright-boy melancholy of Skinner Galt has been succeeded by a frighteningly immediate, perversely humorous perspective upon contemporary American problems of conscience. Allerd Pennington, a scientist in uniform working on a problem which led to the "successful" use of the atom bomb at Hiroshima, deserts the army, abandons his wife and children, and vanishes into the living death of anonymity within the great jungle of America's floating misfits. He cannot live the happy suburban life of convenience and ease, he decides, while he has the bomb on his conscience.

The action details his flight, the pursuit, and his picaresque adventures as stock man in a San Francisco department store during the Christmas rush. The earnest reflection of the liberal and puzzled Javert in charge of the federal hunt provides a counterpoint to some finely imagined incidents of love and commercial competition in a bargain basement. The minor characters, particularly Finn, a superpressure salesman, and Tom, a high-school boy marked out to be used by others, sidestep the danger of becoming puppets in a parable. They surprise the reader, and yet remain themselves. Bourjaily's narrative skill and imaginative sympathy is such that they flesh out their small roles, engaging us as human beings.

The fugitive is caught at last. Love, responsibility, and the need to take a stand "deprived him of his freedom to live alone with guilt." As Bourjaily says, "The hound of earth had caught him. No man escapes that hound, his own humanity."

This novel is sometimes arch, as in the romances of its moral suicide; it is frankly sentimental at times then abandons itself to whimsy; and Pennington's desertion of his wife and children, although he is declared to have been happy with them, is somewhat too convenient to Bourjaily's theme—men usually have better reasons for leaving their wives than the cosmic one of conscience about happiness in the atomic age.

But for the most part it holds in balance its humor and its pathos—this tension is the special note of Bourjaily's style—and endures past a first reading as an effective drama about how difficult it is to be both responsible and an individual in contemporary America.

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Of War and Man

THE NIGHT OF TIME. By Rene Fulop-Miller. Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.75.

THE SEIZURE OF POWER. By Czeslaw Milosz. Translated from the Polish by Celina Wieniewska. Criterion Books. $3.50.

By Stanley Cooperman

MODERN novelists, like the epic writers of the past, often use war for the study of men under crisis. There is, however, an essential difference: the enormous complexity of modern war all but eliminates personal responsibility and personal choice. The hero has been replaced by the pushbutton, and the modern war novel must deal with the virtual separation of the hero from the act.

The writer who also attempts to recreate a war situation is likely to find himself concerned largely with externals, with the mechanism of battle itself; while the writer who concentrates on personal tragedy must isolate his individuals precisely because of the vast impersonality of war environment. There have been few artists able to distil from modern war the essence of external suspense and at the same time present the human mind, acting and acted upon.

Rene Fulop-Miller with "The Night of Time" has succeeded in exploring war in its fullest dimensions. With neither the romantic personal negativism of the novelists of the First World War nor the broader but shallower attack of those of the Second, he blends irony, surrealism, and physical precision in a novel which breaks beyond the limits of specific conflict. His book is a multi-level poem not of any one war, but of war itself—and of human experience as well.

Just as Kafka used "The Trial" to capture basic configurations of memory and despair, Fulop-Miller makes of his unnamed and untimed war an image bearing within itself the deepest pressures of individual life and death. The book is not simply an allegory, which inevitably involves distortion to fit a preconceived thesis or sermon; his people and situations are in the truest sense vital and full-fleshed, although external action carries a pyramid of symbolic meaning. The method, of course, is not new; symbolist writers have been much discussed and much imitated. War, however, has been primarily the realm of the realistic novelist. Rene Fulop-Miller, in utilizing the techniques of symbolism—the ironic juxtaposition, the proliferation of value, the distortion of the obviously "real" for the symbolic examination of reality—has produced a book which disturbs and terrifies in its comic moments, the ludicrous forever linked with the tragic.

IN THE "cold war," as in other wars, the demand for inspiration or indictment is amply met by widely ballyhooed novels giving all the sanctioned answers. Horror is reflected upon a specific target and tragedy traced to a specific cause. In this manner the most soul-shattering events give, in their own way, considerable comfort—the reassurance that the reader is hating the right people.

A "cold war" novel poses as objective in order to sooth the literary sensibilities of the critic and provide a frame of sophistication for the audience, but at the same time the approved position must remain constant; the novelist, while dealing with ideological complexities, works from a specific point of reference. An author—such as Czeslaw Milosz—who carries objectivity far enough to depart from the correct position is bound to be challenged. Where antagonists have an interchangeable ruthlessness, for example, the reader conditioned by ideological fiction is likely to demand a key, somewhere in the book, which will open the door of hope and hate. If none is forthcoming, he has been disturbed "to no purpose."

Milosz, writing of the last days of World War II in Poland, is not likely to give comfort to any partisan reader. Interlocking violence shatters human life in the name of a multiplicity of causes and emerges as the central fact in "The Seizure of Power." These causes so resemble each other that everyone seems to be traveling the same way while shouting different reasons for it.

Milosz alternates realistic description with lyric passages and metaphysics. One of his characters describes what is perhaps the basic approach of the novel: "You can only express properly through details. When you've observed a detail, you must discover the detail of the detail." This, of course, is one of the commandments of modern poetry, and Milosz—who is himself known as a poet—applies it to his fiction. Shifting rapidly from detail to detail, using richly metaphorical imagist, or violet prose, he swings from the past to the present, from antagonist to antagonist in a blood-colored kaleidoscope.

Coming at a time when fiction dealing with the "cold war" is usually propagandistic, "The Seizure of Power" is a memorable work in that it condemns the methods power often uses to perpetuate itself.

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The Mechanics of Influence

POWER AND INFLUENCE. By Lord Beveridge. The Beechhurst Press. $5.

By Keith Hutchison

IN a prologue to this autobiography, Lord Beveridge distinguishes the two ways things get done in the world of affairs—power and influence. Men with power—in government or business—"can mold events by an exercise of will," can enforce orders either by punishments or control of awards. Influence, on the other hand, requires persuasion; it "means appeal to reason or emotions other than fear or greed; . . . if influence is to be for good, it must rest on knowledge."

Lord Beveridge, while seldom able to exercise power, has, in the course of a long and busy life, accomplished as much through the mechanics of influence as any of his contemporaries. A great social inventor and technician, he has played a prime role in the building of the welfare

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state from the days when, as a young civil servant, he promoted labor exchanges and a limited scheme of unemployment insurance, to 1942 when he electrified the world with the Beveridge Report. At that point, indeed, his influence became so strong that in effect he achieved power because his report fulfilled the hope he had expressed a few months earlier of "making sufficient popular appeal to compel the government to take it up." Almost certainly the visible reluctance of Mr. Churchill to do so was an important factor in the Labor Party's victory in 1945.

In a chapter headed Beveridge: Boom and Boycott, the author expresses surprise at the reaction of the Cabinet to his report which included orders to the Civil Service to refrain from cooperation with him while he was preparing his subsequent unofficial report on full employment. Yet, after encroaching on the preserves of political power, he could hardly expect other treatment; it was, left-handedly, a tribute to his success. Moreover, Lord Beveridge, as he unwittingly makes clear in this book, has not always exercised influence tactfully. The moral and intellectual arrogance which he combines with his many virtues, undoubtedly raised hackles in Whitehall and may well annoy some of his present readers. All the same his book can be recommended both as good reading and an important contribution to recent British history.

Books in Brief

Generations of Love

THE MEMOIRS OF MAISIE. By Maude Hutchins. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.50.

Maude Hutchins is a painter, a sculptor, and a writer of great natural gaiety. She is in effect a type of eighteenth-century realist and satirist, a comic spirit of the Enlightenment who has been playing around the edges of the industrial grime. One of her earlier novels, "A Diary of Love," though it has been attacked or suppressed for its frank descriptions of sexuality, is marked nevertheless by a pervading innocence of spirit, a sort of angelic laughter. Another book, "Love Is a Pie," is a collection of odd and diverting short stories and sketches. In this field Mrs. Hutchins is almost incomparable; there is nobody else around, except perhaps the ghost of Ronald Firbank, who can approach her off-beat individuality. The present book starts out very brightly, too, as the chronicle of a matriarch whose memory confuses her own love affairs in the past with those of her children and grandchildren. We see the goddess of love pursuing her sweet antics through three generations of women whose function is primarily to be women. But the portrait of old age becomes difficult for Mrs. Hutchins to develop and maintain; her natural home is with the young in spirit. The best parts of "Maisie" are the separate scenes and episodes in the first half of the book; and these sections are still very much worth reading for their power to entertain and their brilliance of style. Mrs. Hutchins is a writer to be respected even when she isn't at her best; and to be treasured when she is.

Failure of a Mission

BLACK MOSES. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. By Edmund David Cronon. Wisconsin. $5.

It has been said of Marcus Garvey that he was a great "idealist, a man of God and destiny"; he has also been called a "mountebank." That opinions about this Jamaican Negro have tended to polarize at the extremes gives solid value to Edmund David Cronon's book, which fills in that middle ground upon which the truth can be established. "Black Moses" is an objective examination of the most controversial figure ever to stride through American Negro life.

Garvey came to the United States, a young man of twenty-nine, in 1916. Already puffed up by the success of his organization in Jamaica, it was his hope to include in the Back to Africa movement all the Negro peoples of the world. The times were in his favor; the temper of the Negro people, long depressed and dispirited, was in his favor; and Garvey's gift for flamboyant drama and his soaring oratory were in his favor. He nearly succeeded.

But beneath his gifts lay defects—certainly of intellect and probably of character—that only the ignorant failed to see. One after another, his schemes failed. The ships of the Black Star Line rotted. The trade the ships were supposed to carry dried up. The plan for the colonization of American Negro families in Africa fell through. Garvey came under the suspicion of important men in government, and was finally tried and sentenced to five years in prison for using the mails to de-

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fraud. Though some of his followers gave Garveyism sporadic jets of life, the movement collapsed, and the Negro people sought other means of social salvation.

Those who are interested in the revolutionary aspects of the twentieth century in America should not miss Cronon's book. It makes exciting reading.

Post-War Japan

HOMECOMING. By Jiro Osaragi. Translated from the Japanese by Brewster Horwitz. Knopf. $3.75. IF "Homecoming" is any indication of the work now being done by Japanese novelists, American readers have been missing a great deal. It is more than a "different" kind of novel; within the unique landscape of post-war Japan it deals with the universals of human loneliness, love, fear, and greed.

"Homecoming" is at once individual and national; conflicts of personality combine with a picture of an insular society completely disrupted by war. The social meaning of the novel is not simply a frame for the narrative; post-war Japan becomes a drama in itself. Shattered traditions, the specter of national poverty, the intense problem of overpopulation are filtered through the minds of Japanese individuals.

Osaragi is a master of the alternating point of view, moving from one mind to another with impressive craft. He often focuses on a natural object—a cloud, a tree, a view from a hill—to provide the transition. The narrative flows freely. The author's observations are subtle and pungent.

Brewster Horwitz's fine translation retains "Homecoming's" exotic flavor: the delicate etching of the natural scene, the placing of action within tableaux, the use of coincidence to achieve contrasting tones and plot unity. The value of the novel, however, is precisely that Osaragi avoids the picturesque for its own sake. His book is effective, often sophisticated fiction, presenting a portrait of a culture in flux.

Films

Robert Hatch

JOSEPH KRAMM'S "The Shrike" is the case history of a man whose manhood has been amputated by his doting, deadly wife. Deprived of all faith in himself, he attempts suicide and is locked up in a city hospital. There, the doctors abetting his wife, he is brain-washed with totalitarian efficiency.

This grim chronicle had a tremendous stage success—a tribute to Jose Ferrer's virtuoso performance and Kramm's spare and probing dialogue. Also, perhaps, a reflection of the fact that sidewalk psychiatry is still in fashion and that cannibalism is rifer among American females than we had suspected.

Because of its Broadway history, "The Shrike" could scarcely escape Hollywood, where Universal-International has fixed it in approximately the way that Ann Downs, the shrike, fixed her husband, Joe. We won't complain because the studio hacks have softened Kramm's lines with explanatory padding or made his wife's neurosis so apparent that a chiropodist should have been able to spot it. That tax every author is asked to pay to Hollywood's creed of the least common denominator.

And we may agree that the flashbacks, invented to inject some physical motion into a psychological struggle, are necessary for the screen, even though they dissipate the aseptic horror of the situation.

But Universal-International has tacked a happy ending on to the play that is unparalleled in an industry that never hesitates from reasons of artistic consistency to sugarcoat the ideas it buys. Kramm closed his play with Joe Downs utterly supine, helpless, and hopeless. It may not be the inevitable ending, but it is the only one possible for the play Kramm wrote. The movie reaches the same spot by the same route, but then it adds a footnote in which Ann reveals that she has undergone a thorough, thirty-second analysis and promises never to be a naughty girl again. Joe smiles like a man saved from the gallows, and they embrace and walk hand-in-hand down the twilit street. If Kramm could swallow this, there is no reason for me to gag on it—except that I am not paid for swallowing.

The movie, for all the up-to-date clinical detail, looks old fashioned because it relies so heavily on Ferrer's strained, sweating, and often weeping face. I can't remember a picture that has used so many close-ups since the heyday of Greta Garbo. Ferrer directed, but I don't accuse him of megalomania; his face is the real scene of the battle. June Allyson, as the shrike, has been accused of seeming too amiable to be so destructive. On the contrary, the few man-eaters I have known showed just this sweet womanliness. Her husky, slightly babyish voice is chillingly in character. As you would expect, the hospital wards and common rooms are gratifyingly authentic—Bellevue, I think, and the therapy is no advertisement.

"WE'RE NO ANGELS," also from Broadway wth a slight title change from "My Three Angels," is a jolly lark that would be jollier if the three principals—Humphrey Bogart, Aldo Ray, and Peter Ustinov—were less impressed by their own whimsicality. Arch is the only word for their behavior.

The story is antique. It turns on the sentimentality of hardened criminals when confronted by trusting innocence, particularly on Christmas Eve. That's all right, though, in a farce; the trouble here is that the plotting lacks invention. Gags are repeated and the dialogue appears to have been written on a turntable. For long stretches the three desperate escapees from Devil's Island and the family they have befriended (headed by Leo G. Carroll and Joan Bennett) stand about grinning at one another with nothing much to do. The drama is solved with two identical murders—not a very witty or ingenious conceit, since two of the heroes are murderers.

However the audience is lifted quite out of itself by the spectacle of Bogart being overcome by benevolence, and the contrast between Ustinov's gross body and debutante mannerisms sustains a fusillade of laughs. Recommended for drive-ins.

B. H. HAGGIN is on vacation. His column will be resumed next week.

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Letters

More on the Braden Case

[The Braden case involved the purchase by Carl Braden, a Louisville newspaperman, of a house in a white subdivision of that city in behalf of a Negro friend, Andrew E. Wade. The case developed into a cause celebre. Braden was indicted and convicted of sedition under an obscure Kentucky law and was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. In jail since December, Braden was released last week under $40,000 bail pending his appeal.]

Dear Sirs: Walter Millis's informative article on the Braden case in the May 7 issue points up the danger inherent in participation of those who can be identified as Communists or Communist sympathizers in civil-rights cases. Almost invariably, as here, the issue is lost sight of in a welter of controversy over the motives or activities of these outsiders. However, as Millis himself demonstrates, it is not always easy to get assistance in cases of this kind. He says: "It must have been apparent to the Bradens that the appearance of a Negro family in the newly completed house would ruin the development and seriously jeopardize the speculative values throughout the area." The plain import of that statement is that Millis, and other sincere opponents of segregation who agree with him, regard the dummy purchase of the Bradens as immoral.

Laying aside the fact that Millis accepts the easy, and often disproved, generalization that Negro occupancy lowers property values, it is apparent that the very difficult problem of residential segregation in urban areas has entirely escaped his notice. He remarks that Wade could have bought "without difficulty in one of the several 'mixed housing' areas which have developed in the older sections of the city." Perhaps that is true, but the assertion does not answer the question of why he should have done so. Probably he didn't want to live in one of the older sections of the city, and if he had not been a Negro nobody would have questioned his choice.

The sound and fury over Wade's attempt to live in a suburban area highlights one of the gravest problems facing the nation today. Residential segregation breeds its own problems in the shape of segregation in schools and other community facilities, which must accommodate residents of the neighborhoods in which they are located. It is costly, too. Negroes who must buy in the "older sections of the city" recommended by Mr. Millis cannot get the advantages of low down payments and low interest rates that prevail in the new suburban areas because of FHA loans and interest policies. They must make higher down payments and pay higher interest rates for hand-me-down housing in second-hand areas.

It is extremely regrettable to see Millis accept the proposition that Negro occupancy ruins property values and throw his weight behind the equally untenable proposition that a Negro who refuses to accept housing in an older section of the city has acted in a reprehensible manner.

LOREN MILLER

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Some of the facts in Mr. Millis's article, Louisville's Braden

Religious Advertisements Reviewed In Brief

Religious and Economic Problems Related Intimately. — Denial of Connection Blasphemy.—We have seen that the One-God religion arose out of a great struggle between the forces of social justice and the forces of social injustice. On the one side, Jehovah, represented by the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. And on the other side, Baal, represented by prophets coming mostly from the cities.

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General Public Today Losing Interest In Severe, Individualistic Deity. —The outrage perpetrated upon Social Monotheism in the Roman empire and subsequently is at length reaching its logical result: The reduced, non-social, individualistic form of monotheism is failing to hold the lay element from which the churches always have been recruited. The general subject is dealt with in three circulars, available without charge if stamps are forwarded to cover mailing costs. No. 1, "Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History." No. 2, "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God." No. 3, "An Approach to Our Underlying Economic Problems." Nine cents in stamps, postage on all three circulars. Clip to card in envelope, with name and address, Sealed, first class. Also return address on outside of envelope. No letter necessary.—To prevent misunderstanding, note that no circulars will be forwarded if no stamps are sent.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Case, are hard to square with those of other reliable reporters, but I will leave the straightening of the record to those who are closer to the case than I. What disturbs me even more is the jaundiced nature of Mr. Millis's omissions and assumptions. Why not mention, for example, that two of those charged with sedition—the Misses Spiker and Gilbert—are local leaders of that same Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which Dan Gillmor praises in your issue of May 14? Why not report that Vernon Bown—the volunteer guard at the Wade house—has affidavits to support his contention that he was in Wisconsin at the time of the bombing? And, above all, why assume that "the appearance of a Negro family in the newly completed house would ruin the development?" I am willing to wager that an interracial suburb in Louisville would attract many of the good people there. But I don't expect Mr. Millis to share my optimism; I merely expect him to give his ruination hypothesis as just one possibility and not as an iron law. It is fortunate for the nation that his gradualist position is not shared by a majority of the Supreme Court.

JOHN M. PICKERING
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Millis's Reply

Dear Sirs: Mr. Miller's seems to me a serious letter which highlights aspects of the problems of segregation in housing into which my article did not attempt to go. I resent a little his saying that I "recommended" that the Wades should have bought in a mixed area; I was trying to state the fact that they could have done so had they wanted to, in explaining that this was what Wade did not want. I was trying to avoid making any recommendations to anybody and give a factual account of what happened.

On Mr. Miller's other point—"the proposition that Negro occupancy ruins property values"—I think I was correct in saying that under the conditions existing in the newly-built suburban developments in Louisville this is the situation, regardless of its ethics or its desirability. The Rone development, at any rate, was thoroughly ruined. It may be argued that if the Rones had welcomed the Wades and put up a fight for them against the neighbors, surrounding property-owners, mortgage interests, and so on they might have succeeded. It is arguable. My feeling is that it is very doubtful; and that at best it was not entirely just to put the Rones in a position where they had to contemplate such a choice, doing it by misrepresentation and subterfuge.

This last is the main point in Mr. Pickering's letter. It is not I whom he is asking to wager that an interracial suburb in Louisville would succeed; it is the Louisville property-owners, and I don't think he ought to involve them in such a gamble without telling them what he is doing. Heaven knows, I don't pretend to be able to solve all the problems of either housing segregation or the anti-Communist hysteria, but it does seem to me that we all ought to be able to start on a basis of the actual facts of such situations, not on "optimism" as to what the facts ought to be.

WALTER MILLIS
New York, N. Y.

Not So Gray

Dear Sirs: I am writing in reference to the article entitled Gray New World in your issue of June 25. Mr. Aldridge says that Mr. Riesman's book, "The Lonely Crowd," foreshadows the future for us, and that the present novelists are already writing about the new gray world. He ends his article with the comforting thought that we are in for long ages of a world run by young men and women whose world is bounded by a ranch-type house, a new Ford, and no doubt a membership in the local country club.

Since Mr. Aldridge does not like Vermont, which is my favorite state next to Alabama, he very likely would not like Alabama either, but at least he would learn that individualism is still rampant, that there are lots of people here, good and bad, who are themselves, and neither hell nor high water will make them conform to any pattern. Whatever the future holds down here, it certainly could not be as bad as the soiled picture he paints of American life. Of course there is suppression and conformity, but there is also the resistance to it. Those who resist don't get their books published very often, but that does not mean the resistance is not there.

VIRGINIA DURR
Montgomery, Ala.

"A Breath of Air"

Dear Sirs: This is to express my high regard for the articles written by John W. Aldridge. They read like a breath of clean, fresh, wholesome air that is particularly welcome these "gray" days of which he speaks in his article in the June 25 issue.

PEARL W. AXELBANK
New York, N. Y.

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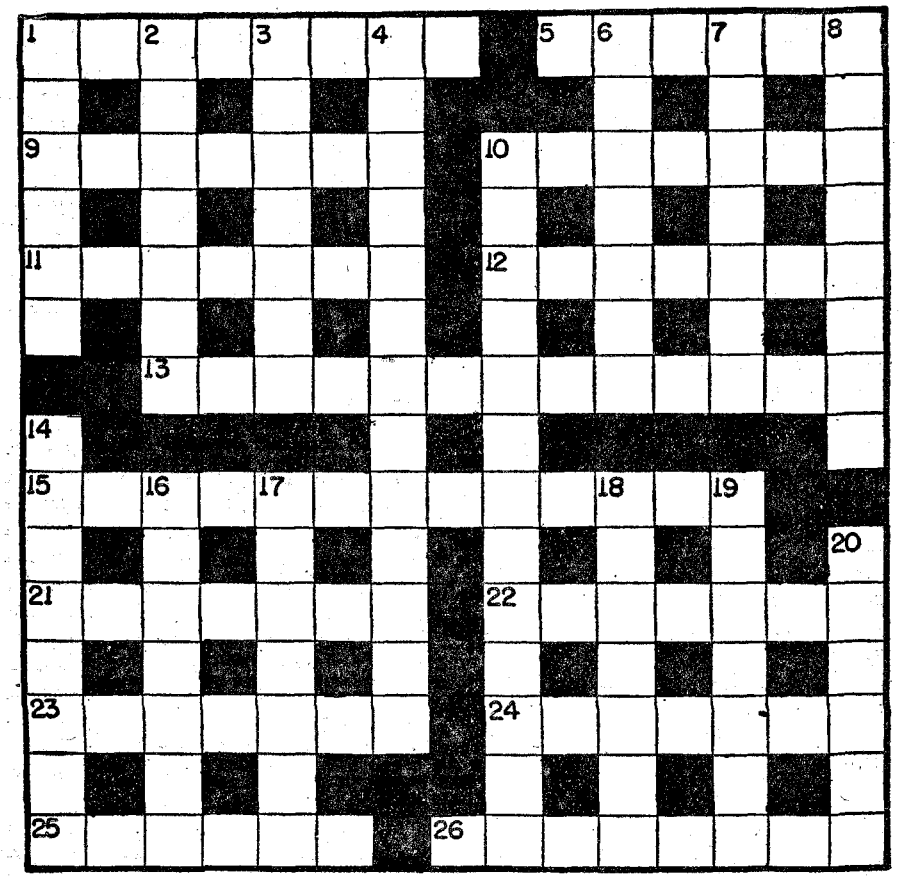
Crossword Puzzle No. 629

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Is ironed, and perhaps irony. (8)
5 Gum arabic, one with a doubled account in front. (6)
9 No men on this side of the house! (7)
10 Stand in the way of the abettor. (7)
11 Such things could make a burn critical! (7)
12 Is the clue air for the chamber? (7)
13 Is a red signal best, and useful when getting ready? (8,5)
15 It might keep you from recognizing some tricky little thing. (9,4)
21 Indian hunter. (7)
22 The way quartets get started? (7)
23 Glued in, but getting away. (7)
24 Tribe before a port of Aden. (7)
25 Look at the old soak! (6)
26 Spread out. (8)

DOWN

1 Cut dead without a sort of this. (6)
2 Not much money put in to divide up! (7)
3 Let's eat at this place for a change! (7)
4 When not playing hockey, look at the card playing politics! (6,7)
6 One of those places where Tom is about skinned? (7)
7 The last might eat the first, but it sometimes meets its match. (7)
8 It's one way of making Ned alert! (8)
10 Educating the board where they might supervise the courses? (8,5)
14 Restrains snatches of it. (8)
16 This time it isn't occupied. (7)
17 An exclamation to help to a degree when climbing in. (7)
18 Likely to be the real sort within a column of support. (7)
19 One of Jack's bad qualities? (7)
20 Is 8 without a sort of tree surrounded by water? (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 628

ACROSS: 1 BALL-POINT PENS; 10 RELAXED; 11 IRENICS; 12 SINECURES; 13 INFER; 14 ENSIGN; 16 SOCIALLY; 19 SCREAMED; 20 HANSOM; 22 GRAPH; 23 READY-MADE; 25 TRIACID; 26 PROMOTE; 27 BELLES-LETTERS. DOWN: 2 ALLEN; 3 LEXICOGRAPHICAL; 4 ORDERS; 5 NAINSOOK; 6 PRELIMINARY BOUT; 7 NAILFILES; 9 USER; 15 SERIALIZE; 17 YAMMERED; 18 HEBRIDES; 21 DAPPLE; 22 and 8 down GATE-CRASHERS; 24 ANODE.

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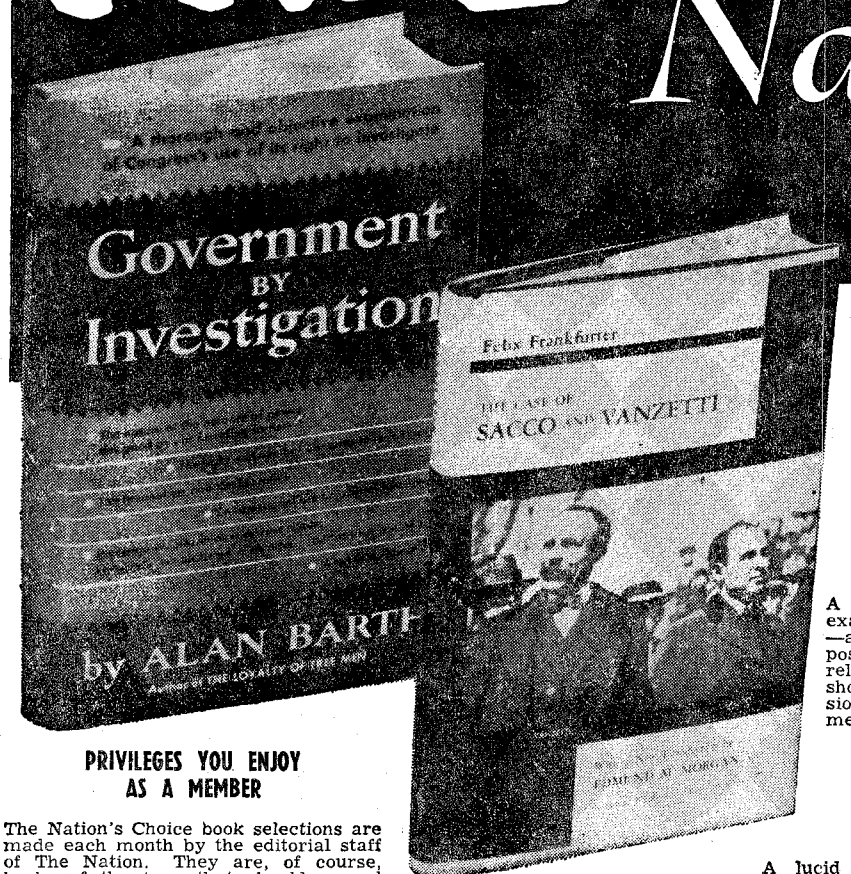

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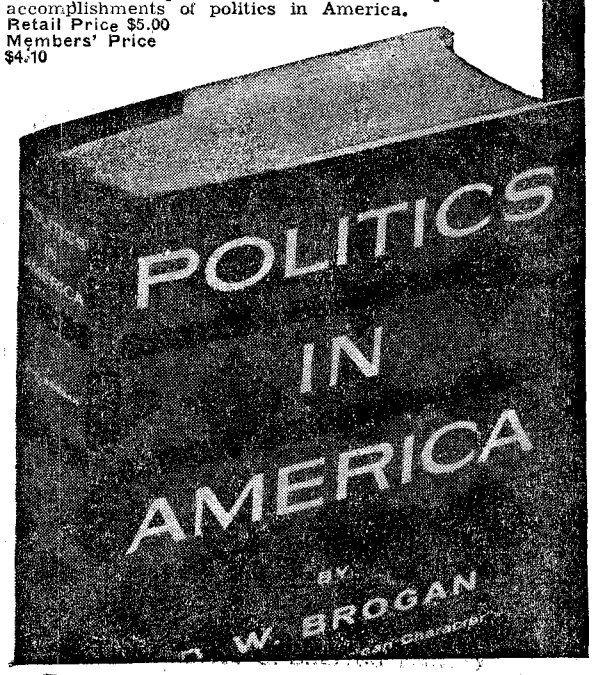

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